

FRENCH REVOLUTION AS A WORLD
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But he complains that it was a colossal error to say nothing of his duties, and to imply that the source of evils lay outside man in political institutions and machinery. To the governing clause, " Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," he rejoins that no one is free, since each must surrender part of his freedom to society. " It is a garish mixture in which there is not a shadow of philosophical sequence or precision, the work of a moment, an enthusiastic whim decked out in the mask of philanthropy and patriotism. Moreover, never have human rights been so trampled on as in the past three years."

Bentham's criticism in his little tract *Anarchical Fallacies* was even more hostile. " Natural rights are simple nonsense ; natural and imprescriptible rights are rhetorical nonsense, nonsense upon stilts/' Abstract rights are a contradiction in terms; for rights, which are claims to liberty, no less than laws, which are infringements of liberty, must be defended by a reference to utility. Liberty, for instance, is dependent on capacity, since many people need protection owing to weakness, ignorance, or imprudence. Inequality is condemned not as an injustice but as tending to diminish happiness. The first requisite of happiness is security; if the claims of equality conflict with it, they must be sacrificed. Bentham accepted the Rights of Man as desirable in practice, though wrong in theory ; and his doctrine that each was to count for one and none for more than one stated in another form the French contention that the world should be adjusted to the needs of the common man.

" The declaration of the Rights of Man was meagre and confused," writes Lord Acton, " and Bentham found a malignant pleasure in tearing it to pieces. But it is a trium-

phant proclamation of the doctrine that human obligations are not all assignable to contract, or to interest, or to force. This single page of print outweighs libraries and is stronger than all the armies of Napoleon. The Assembly, which had abolished the past at the beginning of August, attempted at the end of the month to institute and regulate the future. These are its abiding works, and the perpetual heritage of the Revolution. With them a new era dawned upon mankind,"

When the Terror was over and the national frontiers secured, some of the practical implications of the Declaration were worked out, above all in the domain of education and the codification of the law.